

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7033
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AMEMBASSY LAGOS NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L NAPE TOWN 635

LAGOS FOR AMBASSADORS YOUNG, MCHENRY, ASST. SEC. MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDRG, SF, WA
SUBJ: NAMIBIA: PRESENTATION OF PROPOSAL TO INTERNAL GROUPS
IN WINDHOEK

CAPE TOWN FIVE PRESENTED PROPOSAL TO INTERNAL NAMIBIAN GROUPS
MARCH 30-31, AND APRIL 1. FOLLOWING IS THEIR AGREED REPORT:

1. CAPE TOWN FIVE, CONSISTING OF THE CANADIAN, GERMAN AND UNITED
STATES AMBASSADORS, THE COUNSELOR OF FRANCE AND THE MINISTER OF
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THE UNITED KINGDOM, TRAVELLED TO WINDHOEK ON MARCH 30 TO PRESENT
THE PROPOSAL TO INTERNAL GROUPS. OVER A TWO-DAY PERIOD WE MET
WITH AKTUR, DTA, CHURCH LEADERS REPRESENTING SEVEN DENOMINATIONS,
NNF AND SWAPO.

2. WE FOUND A CHANGED ATMOSPHERE AMONG THE LEADERS OF THE INTERNAL
GROUPS. WE SENSED AN INCREASED TENSION AND FEAR IN BOTH THEIR

MANNER AND COMMENTS. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY IN EVIDENCE AMONG DTA AND SWAPO, THE FORMER FEARING FURTHER ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS AGAINST THEIR LEADERS, THE LATTER THE RETALIATION OF THE HEROS FOR THE MURDER OF KAPUUO AND GOVT REPRESSION. THIS GENERAL ATMOSPHERE CONTRIBUTED TO THE WELCOME WE RECEIVED FROM ALL GROUPS EXCEPT DTA WHICH DISPLAYED UNCHARACTERISTIC TENSENESS AND IRRITATION THROUGHOUT OUR VERY BRIEF MEETING.

3. THE POINTS WHICH CAME UP REPEATEDLY DURING THE TALKS, AND WHICH REFLECT THE PREOCCUPATION OF THE INTERNAL LEADERS WERE:

A) MUTUAL SUSPICION OVER OBSERVATION OF THE CEASE FIRE AND DEMOBILIZATION/WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS. SWAPO FEARED THAT MORE THAN 1,500 SADF TROOPS WOULD REMAIN UNDER VARIOUS GUISES (E.G., IN WALVIS BAY AND IN REMOTE AREAS OF NAMIBIA). THE GROUPS OPPOSED TO SWAPO WONDERED HOW THE UN WOULD POSSIBLY HALT INFILTRATION FROM ANGOLA AND CONTINUED INTIMIDATION THROUGH ASSASSINATIONS AND THREATS.

B) DOUBT ON BOTH SIDES OVER THE ABILITY OF THE UN TO BE IMPARTIAL AND/OR TO ENFORCE ITS WILL. AKTUR AND DTA REITERATED THEIR DEEP SKEPTICISM OVER UN IMPARTIALITY. THIS TIME NNF MADE IT A MAJOR ISSUE BASED LARGELY ON THE TREATMENT THEY RECEIVED FROM AHTISAARI'S OFFICE WHEN THEY TRIED TO CONTACT HIM DURING THE PROXIMITY TALKS. SWAPO QUESTIONED THE ABILITY OF THE UNSR TO EXERCISE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE ELECTIONS AND MAINTAIN A CLIMATE FREE FROM INTIMIDATION UNLESS IT IS CLEARLY ESTABLISHED THAT THE UN HAS PRIMACY.

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C) TIME TABLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IS NO LONGER REALISTIC. ALL THE DELEGATIONS EXCEPT SWAPO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE CONTINUED DELAY IN SETTING INTO MOTION A PROCEDURE THAT WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE. THEY THOUGHT THE POSSIBILITY OF COMPLETING THE PROCESS BEFORE DECEMBER 31 IS RAPIDLY DISAPPEARING. THIS CONTRIBUTED TO THE CLIMATE OF UNCERTAINTY AND UNREST.

D) CONCERN OVER DETERIORATION OF POLITICAL CLIMATE AND NEED FOR ACTION. THE ASSASSINATION OF KAPUUO HAS MARKEDLY AFFECTED ATTITUDES. THERE WAS RELIEF THAT WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE BETWEEN THE HEREROS AND OVAMBOS HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE, BUT SEVERAL LEADERS EXPRESSED APREHENSION THAT RETALIATION MIGHT BREAK OUT AFTER THE FUNERAL. THE PROSPECTS FOR MORE VIOLENCE LED TO EXPRESSIONS OF URGENT NEED FOR ACTION, ALTHOUGH VIEWS DIFFERED ON WHAT THAT ACTION SHOULD BE. AKTUR OPENLY ADVOCATED A RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL TURNHALLE. SEVERAL CHURCH LEADERS, INCLUDING BISHOP AUALA, VOICED GENERAL SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSAL AND THE HOPE THAT WE COULD CARRY IT OUT WITHOUT DELAY. (BISHOP DE VRIES WAS OUT OF THE COUNTRY). NNF, WHILE EXPRESSING PROFOUND DISTRUST OF AHTISAARI AND DEEP CONCERN OVER HOW HE MIGHT USE THE UNTAG, NEVERTHELESS SAW THE NEED FOR RAPID ACTION, WITHOUT AT THIS STAGE SPECIFICALLY ENDORSING OUR PLAN.

E) SKEPTICISM OVER IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL. ALL GROUPS, ADVANCING DIFFERENT REASONS, EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT AGREEMENT WOULD BE REACHED ON THE PROPOSAL. THE NON-SWAPO GROUPS DOUBTED THAT SWAPO WOULD AGREE TO ELECTIONS BECAUSE VICTORY FOR THEM WOULD NOT BE ASSURED. SWAPO ON OTHER HAND WAS EQUALLY CONVINCED THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT PREPARED TO GIVE UP ITS INFLUENCE OVER NAMIBIA AND WILL USE THE DTA TO ACHIEVE ITS ENDS. THE MURDER OF KAPUWO AND THE SAG'S HEAVY PLAY ON NUJOMA'S TV INTERVIEW AND THE SWAPO MILITARY DOCUMENTS HAVE SERVED TO REINFORCE THE SKEPTICISM ON BOTH SIDES.

F) NEED TO PUBLICIZE OUR PROPOSAL AND PROMOTE PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING. THE MORE NEUTRAL GROUPS -- CHURCH LEADERS AND NNF -- CALLED ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE PUBLIC DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THE DELAY IN REACHING A SETTLEMENT AND HAS NO REAL CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPREHENSION OF THE FIVE-POWER PROPOSAL. THEY URGED STEPS NOT ONLY TO PUBLICIZE THE PROPOSAL BUT ALSO TO GIVE INTERPRETIVE COMMENTARY THAT WOULD PRESENT KEY ELEMENTS IN A FORM COMPREHENSIBLE TO THE MAN IN THE STREET. THIS POINT ASSUMES INCREASED IMPORTANCE IN THE LIGHT OF BOTHA'S AND VORSTER'S STATEMENTS THAT IT IS FOR THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE TO DECIDE ABOUT THE PROPOSAL.

4. WE REGARD THE VISIT AS USEFUL IN DEMONSTRATING FIVE-POWER DETERMINATION TO PROCEED WITH AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. ONLY AKTUR REJECTED THIS APPROACH BUT DID SO IN A MANNER WHICH INDICATED SPECIAL APPRECIATION FOR OUR EFFORTS. CHURCH LEADERS WERE THE ONLY ONES TO CLEARLY ENDORSE THE PLAN. WE BELIEVE WE CAN COUNT ON THEIR PUBLIC SUPPORT WHEN IT IS DECIDED TO PUBLISH THE PROPOSAL AND PROMOTE PUBLIC BACKING. WE FOUND DTA'S ATTITUDE DURING THE MEETING TO BE CONFUSED AND BRITTLE, REFLECTING THE TENSIONS AND FEARS CREATED BY THE KAPUWO MURDER. THEY DID NOT RESPOND CONSTRUCTIVELY TO OUR PRESENTATION AND MUDGE ABRUPTLY WITHDREW THE DELEGATION FROM THE MEETING WHEN HE SAW VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE ALLIANCE TAKING A CONFRONTATIONAL POSITION WITH US. IN A SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH ME, MUDGE EXPLAINED THE DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING CERTAIN DTA LEADERS TO LOOK AT THE PROPOSAL, ESPECIALLY THE SECURITY PROVISIONS, RATIONALLY AFTER THE KAPUWO MURDER. HE HAD SUCCEEDED IN GETTING ALL ALLIANCE MEMBER GROUPS TO REFRAIN FROM RETALIATION AND HE HOPED THAT HE COULD MAKE THIS DECISION STICK. OUR PROPOSAL WOULD BE CAREFULLY STUDIED NEXT WEEK BY HIM AND BILLY MARAIS. THEY WOULD PREPARE A MEMORANDUM ON THE PROPOSAL WHICH WILL BE DISCUSSED BY THE ALLIANCE LEADERSHIP ON APRIL 10, THE DAY AFTER KAPUWO'S FUNERAL. HE WOULD TRAVEL TO CAPE TOWN ON APRIL 12 TO PRESENT THE PAPER TO THE PRIME MINISTER. MUDGE DID NOT INDICATE WHERE THE DTA WOULD COME OUT ON THE PROPOSAL, ALTHOUGH HE PERSONALLY HAD NO DIFFICULTY WITH IT, INCLUDING THE SECURITY PROVISIONS. THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEM, HE STATED, IS WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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RANK AND FILE BLACKS AND WHITES WHO SEE NO OTHER PROTECTION FROM
A SWAPO TAKEOVER THAN THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SADF TROOPS.

5. WE WERE GRATIFIED THAT THIS TIME SWAPO MET WITH US. INITIALLY
THEY DECLINED A MEETING BUT LATER CHANGED THEIR MIND AND SENT
A DELEGATION OF SIX, FIVE OF WHOM WERE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEMBERS.
WHILE THEY MADE CLEAR THAT THE SWAPO POSITION WOULD BE CONVEYED
BY THE EXTERNAL LEADERSHIP, THEY QUESTIONED US EXTENSIVELY
ABOUT THOSE ASPECTS ON WHICH SWAPO IS PRINCIPALLY CONCERNED.
THE SESSION SERVED TO BRING INTERNAL SWAPO UP TO DATE ON THE
PROPOSAL AND WAS WELL RECEIVED.
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